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ABSTRACT

A study examined gender and the practice of public relations in Canada, investigation whether there are gender differences in: (1) structural factors such as practitioner roles, salaries, and job satisfaction; (2) participation in management decision-making; and (3) methods of decision-making, particularly in the area of program evaluation. A survey (designed to measure practitioner roles and evaluation methods, background attributes, participation in decision-making, and attitudes toward the job and professional trends) was completed by 309 public relations practitioners (a response rate of 47.4%) from 12 major urban areas in Canada. Results indicated that, while women in public relations in Canada occupy the lower rungs of the professional ladder, exact location on the ladder among women technicians appears to be a function of age and experience. In addition, though the best predictors of income differentials are years of experience and practitioner role, gender also remains a significant predictor of salary variance. Results also showed that women participate in higher-order decision-making as frequently as men, especially at the managerial level, but that the profession in general relies more on intuitive than scientific decision-making procedures. The study's similarities and differences to data on the same topic from the United States illustrate the importance of cross-cultural replication of professional patterns. (Five tables of data are included, and 23 references are attached.) (SR)

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GENDER AND DECISION-MAKING AMONG CANADIAN PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTITIONERS

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The biggest change among public relations practitioners was identified not long ago by a major public relations text as "the increasing number of women choosing public relations careers." (Cutlip, et. al., 1985, p. 62) This trend has been documented not just in the United States but in Canada as well.

In the past ten years, the female membership of the Canadian Public Relations Society (CPRS) has more than doubled. In 1977, 20 percent of all members were women compared to 44 percent in 1987 (CPRS, 1987; Reid, 1984). In the United States, the pattern is more pronounced, with 50 percent of the membership of PRSA being female (PRSA, 1988). As of 1986, the North American membership of IABC[1] was more than 60 percent female. (IABC, 1986). Some call this the "feminization" of public relations.

Although the trend in terms of numbers has been clearly demonstrated, the implications for the profession are less clear. Already, some practitioners have suggested that one of the negative consequences of "feminization" is that public relations will be perceived as another women's field, such as social work or nursing. This means the field may not likely attain the power essential to professional and personal effectiveness. (Bates, 1983)

Indeed, research on women and management has explored the contentious issue of "feminization". Touhey (1974) found support for the negative relationship between increasing numbers of women in a profession and its subsequent decline in prestige and status. The fields examined included the professions of architect, college professor, lawyer, physician, and scientist.

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While Touhey's work has been replicated, the subsequent studies did not demonstrate the same results (White, et. al., 1981).

The fact remains, however, that there exists some concern about the impact of women on public relations. While this has been a question examined in the U.S., particularly in terms of differential work patterns between males and females, research in Canada has remained sparse. This study will examine gender and the practice of public relations among Canadian practitioners and will specifically address the following questions:

(1) Are there gender differences in structural factors such as practitioner roles, salaries and job satisfaction?

(2) Are there gender differences in participation in management decision-making?

(3) Are there gender differences in methods of decision-making, particularly in the area of program evaluation?

In efforts to better understand the impact of "feminization," the IABC (1986) sponsored an extensive study of practitioners in North America (most of whom work in the United States). The report, called "The Velvet Ghetto" was a project which included four phases: in-depth interviews with senior practitioners, seven focus groups (of which one was held in Canada), a survey that measured students' orientations to work, and an extensive analysis of secondary sources including surveys undertaken in Canada and the United Kingdom, and IABC "Profile" studies.

The project examined the issue of "feminization" through respondent perceptions of the impact of growing numbers of women

on the field, particularly in the areas of salary and status. Focus group participants and respondents in in-depth interviews appeared to be divided on their perceptions of the impact of "feminization." The researchers identified one group of women as "Queen Bees," whose own success convinced them there was no problem. The term "Queen Bee" is defined in the literature as a woman who has "attained success and status in a man's world and views other women as competitors for her position." (Terborg, 1977, p. 656)

Others expressed concern about the negative effects of the increasing number of women in public relations, suggesting that the trend was "dangerous" because of the implications for lower status and salaries. Still other professionals suggested that women simply did not belong in management.

The researchers concluded that most women and men are worried by the possible impact of "feminization" and that these concerns were possible barriers to women who want management positions.

Women and Practitioner Roles

Broom (1982) and Broom and Dozier (1986) have made important contributions to the understanding of women in public relations through their work on women and practitioner roles. Broom's (1982) study of PRSA members found that women and men differ significantly on the extent to which they play the four roles: expert prescriber, problem-solving process facilitator, communication facilitator, and communication technician.

These roles were defined by Broom (1982) and Broom and

Dozier (1986) as follows:

Expert prescriber. The practitioner occupying this role operates as the authority on both public relations problems and their solutions. The client or management is generally content to leave public relations in the hands of the "expert" and to assume a relatively passive role. The practitioner researches and defines the problem, develops the program, and takes major responsibility for its implementation. This role model is partly based on the "doctor-patient" consultation model.

Communication technician. Practitioners operating as communication technicians provide their organization or client with the specialized skills needed to carry out public relations programs. These practitioners are usually hired on the basis of communications and journalistic skills such as writing, editing and working with the media. Communication technicians are not part of the management team. Instead, throughout the problem-solving process, practitioners handle the technical aspects while management is concerned with problem definition and resolution.

Problem-solving process facilitator. Practitioners who assume this role collaborate with others, e.g., line managers, throughout the organization to define and solve problems. As part of the management team, the problem-solving process facilitator helps guide other managers and the organization through a rational problem-solving process. The practitioner maintains a high level of management involvement in implementing all phases of the program.

Communication facilitator. This practitioner serves as a liaison, interpreter and mediator between the organization and its publics. The emphasis is on maintaining a continuous flow of two-way communications. A person in this role is also concerned with removing barriers to keep channels of communication open.

Broom's (1982) results showed that about half of the women reported they operate primarily in the communication technician role, while more than half of the men cliamed their dominant role was that of expert prescriber. This finding held even after controlling for age and years of experience. These two variables were controlled since men in the sample were generally older than the women and had practiced public relations for a longer period of time compared to women. Broom (1982) noted:

> It appears that even though both men and women are hired initially for their communication and journalistic skills, women tend to stay in the communication technician role to a

> greater extent than their male counterparts. Four out of every five men in PRSA expanded their roles to that of public relations expert and facilitators of communication and problem-solving. On the other hand, only half of the women participate in these management-level public relations counselling and problem-solving functions as part of their primary roles. (p. 21)

Broom's (1982) data served as the base for a panel study conducted by Broom and Dozier (1986). Both Broom's (1982) and Dozier's (1981) role typologies[2] were used in the study.

Results from the panel study showed that overall, from 1979 to 1985, practitioners reported increased frequencies in activities that comprise the managerial role and decreased activities in the technician role. However, while the number of managers had increased by 10 percent, only 19 percent of the managers were women, an increase of only one percentage point from six years earlier. Clearly, women did not advance as rapidly as men into the managerial ranks. Instead, the panel study found that the technician ranks had become increasingly female. Women comprised 38 percent of the technician ranks in 1979, compared to 52 percent in 1985, a disappointing reflection of the lack of advancement of women in public relations. (Broom and Dozier, 1986).

The predominance of women in the role of communication technician, according to the authors, could not be attributed to an influx of women in public relations since the same women participated in both surveys. Rather, a subtle socialization process appears to be working on women in public relations, resulting in their self-selection into the technician role. (IABC, 1986). The Velvet Ghetto study had similarly pointed out that "Part of the socialization process is a result of

women's lack of skills in negotiating a higher salary, an undervaluing of her worth as a worker, and, in general, a strong conflict over the role of professional and the roles of wife and/or mother." (IABC, 1986, p. X-2)

While no comparable data exists to date in Canada, some inferences can be made regarding women and practitioner roles from Scrimger's work (1984, 1985). In developing a profile of managerial women in Canadian public relations, her data showed that media relations is performed most often, followed by writing and editing, publication preparation, and internal communications. As Scrimger (1984) noted, "it appears that most of the work these women do is at the writing skill level." (p.7)

One can deduce from her findings that the majority of these women assume as their dominant role that of "communication technician", a role requiring skills in writing, editing and working with the media. Practitioners in this role are primarily concerned with preparing and producing communications materials and are not part of the management team.

Income Differences Between Women and Men in Public Relations

Salary trends in Canadian public relations parallel those found in the general labour-force, that is, women earn less than men. (Baker Lovick, 1986; Scrimger, 1984, 1985) However, the salary differences between men and women in public relations are not as pronounced as those in the workforce at large. (Scrimger, 1984)

A study conducted for CPRS in June, 1986, showed that women

at all levels in public relations hierarchy earn less than their male counterparts. (Baker Lovick, 1986) Women ranked as vice-president or assistant vice-president earned 72 percent of what men earned. Female directors earned 79 percent of what their male counterparts earned, while women at the manager level earned 82 percent of what male managers earned. Of the practitioners ranked as non-managerial, females earned 78 percent of what their male colleagues earned. Females made slightly larger gains in salary increases than men: 6 percent compared to 5 percent, respectively.

The distribution of earnings by sex shows that 52 percent of women compared to 17 percent of men earned an average, annual salary of $39,999 or less. Half of the men earned an average, annual salary of between $40,000 to $59,999 compared to 40 percent of women. Earnings in the highest income level, that is $60,000 and more, show that 32 percent of men compared to 7 percent of women received this amount. (Baker Lovick, 1986)

The IABC also monitors the wages of female and male business communicators through its biennial survey of communicators' salaries. Randomly selected members from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Hong Kong and Australia were mailed questionnaires in November, 1986. (IABC, 1987)

Study results showed men in Canada earn 20 percent more than do women communicators. Similarly, men in the United States earn 26 percent more than their women colleagues. It should be noted the wage-gap is slowly narrowing. (IABC, 1986) Women communicators in Canada and the United States earn, on the average, 76 cents for each dollar earned by men, up from 73 cents in 1985 and

70 cents in 1983. (IABC, 1987)

In attempts to explain income differences between women and men, Dozier et al. (1983) analyzed data collected from two earlier studies. The first study surveyed members of four communications and publications associations in San Diego, California. A systematic sample of the national membership of PRSA comprised the second study. Hypothesizing that the annual salaries of women would be significantly less than men of equal education, professional experience and length of employment with their current organization, and organizational role status, the study found support for these expectations in the San Diego sample.

The national survey of PRSA members provided different findings. The data from this study indicated female practitioners earn less than their male counterparts even when organizational role and indicators of preparation for advancement are controlled for. Dozier et al. (1983) suggested that "conscious sex discrimination among the predominantly-male managers who make hiring and promotion decisions" may be a possible explanation for the remaining income differences between male and female practitioners. (p. 24)

The Broom and Dozier (1986) panel study also reported income differences between female and male practitioners. The researchers concluded that gender predicts income. Women earn less than men even though they attain similar education levels, have an equal number of years of professional experience and tenure in their currents position.

They also concluded that roles predict income. Managers earn significantly higher salaries than technicians, even after controlling for gender and years of professional experience.

Women and Decision-Making in Public Relations

In order for the field of public relations to be acknowledged as a management function, scholars and practitioners alike are claiming that a scientific approach to program evaluation must be adopted. Decision-making and problem-solving should be based on scientific knowledge rather than on intuition.

One of the questions posed in this study is the following: "How do male and female practitioners differ in their decision-making behaviors, particularly in the use of scientific versus intuitive approaches?" This attempts to replicate some of the work done by Dozier (1981, 1986) and Judd (1987a, b).

Admittedly, the distinction between "scientific" and "intuitive" approaches is, to some extent, artificial, if not problematic. While these constraints are imposed by previous research approaches and the exigencies of operationalization and measurement, we clearly recognize the overlap involved in both approaches (e.g., scientific approaches also involve the use of intuition). This study merely intended to focus on predominant use of one or the other approach.

Women and Participation in Management Decision-Making

Research in Canada and the United States has demonstrated that job segregation occurs within the field of public relations.

(Baker Lovick, 1986; Broom, 1982; Broom & Dozier, 1986; Scrimger, 1984, 1985) The majority of women perform technical tasks such as writing and editing, instead of taking on responsibilities associated with managerial functions such as participation in management decision-making.

Scrimger (1984, 1985) found that the task of "advising management" was carried out less frequently by women managers, compared to tasks which are of a technical nature.

Broom and Dozier (1986) measured women's participation in management decision-making in their panel study. They concluded that participation in management decision-making is a function of practitioner roles rather than years of professional experience or tenure in present position. Their results suggest more women than men will be excluded from participation in management decision-making, since it is women and not men who are predominant in the technician ranks.

Johnson and Acharya (1982) found that practitioners in the managerial roles participate in higher and lower levels of decision-making more often than those occupying the role of technician. However, they also found technicians sometimes participate in decision-making at the lower levels and technicians tend to be women. In contrast to Broom and Dozier's (1986) results, their findings suggest that women participate in decision-making but at a lower level.

Dozier (1987) also examined the relationship between women and participation in organizational decision-making. He found that participation in decision-making is influenced by managerial role status "but nearly of equal importance are scientific

scanning activities." (p. i) This implies low-level practitioners, of which the majority are women, could perhaps participate in decision-making if they utilize scientific research tools when scanning the environment. They could systematically collect information on "what's going on out there," information essential for effective decision-making. Dozier has called this a "back-door" approach to participation.

In sum, two different studies provide conflicting evidence. Broom and Dozier (1986) concluded that practitioners playing the role of communication technician are generally excluded from management decision-making. Since more women than men are ranked as technicians, more women than men will likely be excluded from decision-making. In comparison, Johnson & Acharya (1982) found that technicians participate in management decision-making but only at the lower levels. Their results suggest women are more likely to participate in lower order decision-making than in higher order decision-making. Dozier (1987) suggested scientific scanning techniques could be used by technicians to help them gain entry into management decison-making.

Scrimger's (1984, 1985) data are suggestive, at best, regarding women and participation in management decision-making in Canada. She reported that managerial women function in a technical capacity more often than in an advisory one.

In this study, it is expected that female practitioners participate in higher order decision-making significantly less often than male practitioners.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling Frame. The most recent membership lists of the Canadian Public Relations Society (CPRS) and the International Association of Business Communicators/Canada (IABC) were merged and used as the sampling frame for this study. Only members listed as being from 12 major urban areas in Canada were included. These areas were: Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Moncton, Halifax, and St. John's. This included a large majority of the membership of both organizations. Only individuals whose titles indicated involvement in public relations work (e.g., Director of Communications, Corporate Relations, Director of Public Affairs, etc.) were included in the study. A total of 700 names were included in the sample.

Survey Instrument. The survey instrument for this study was designed to measure practitioner roles and evaluation methods across four content areas (Piekos, 1988). Also measured were background attributes (professional, personal and organizational), participation in decision-making, and attitudes toward the job (e.g., job satisfaction) and professional trends such as the increasing numbers of women in the field.

The program evaluation scale used in this study consisted of four content areas and two research approaches. Items measuring evaluation methods across four content areas were developed by Dozier (1981) and Broom (1982) and supplemented by items specifically developed for this study (see Piekos, 1988).

To measure participation in decision-making, respondents

were asked how frequently they participated in higher order and lower order decision-making situations. The former included decisions on adoption of new policies for the organization as a whole and discussions of major organizational problems with top management. The latter included such items as participation in implementation of new programs or policies.

Respondents were also asked to respond to a number of trends in the profession one of which was the "increasing numbers of women entering the field". Responses were measured via a scale that ranged from positive to negative.

Procedure. The questionnaire was first pre-tested on a small sample of 15 professionals. After minor revisions, the instrument was mailed to the 700 respondents across Canada along with a cover letter and a postage-paid envelope in September, 1987. The incentive offerred to the respondents was a copy of the summary report of the research findings.

A follow-up mailing was administered one month after the initial mailing. Questionnaires, cover letters, and postage-paid envelopes were sent to every other non-respondent on the list. Budgetary constraints precluded a follow-up to all non-respondents. Both mailings were disrupted by nation-wide postal strikes.

RESULTS

Return Rate and Sample Representativeness. The first mailing resulted in 277 usable questionnaires while the second wave yielded only 32 more. The final response rate was 47.4%. Because of the unexpected postal strikes right after the mail-outs, it is

quite possible that the uncertain postal situation may have inhibited some individuals from returning the questionnaire. Because only an English version was used, it is also possible this might have accounted for the low response rate (30%) from Montreal.[3]

To check on sample representativeness, we examined the CPRS membership distribution by gender. The membership showed a distribution of 56.5 percent male (compared to 56.2% for sample respondents claiming CPRS membership) and 43.5 percent female (comparing with 43.8 percent in the sample). At least on the key variable of gender, the sample appears to be representative.

Background Characteristics.

Results show that female practitioners generally tend to be younger than males. While the number of women with bachelor's degrees does not differ significantly from the number of men, they have fewer years of experience and are less likely than men to be the highest ranking PR practitioner in the organization. (See Table 1).

Table 1
PRACTITIONER' BACKGROUND, BY GENDER

	Female	Male
Age		
39 or <	71.4%	40.2%
40+	29.6	59.8
Education (Bachelor's or >)	61.4	62.6
Highest Ranking PR Practitioner (% Yes)	44.7	55.5
Years Experience		
5 yrs or <	37.1	13.0
6 - 10	35.2	25.4
> 10 yrs.	27.7	61.6
Salary		
$29,999 or <	20.6	4.2
$30 - $39,999	36.9	15.4
$40 - $49,999	28.1	23.1
$50 - $59,999	8.8	20.3
$60,000+	5.6	37.1
Participation - Continuing Education programs (% Yes)	57.1	42.9
Professional Dev't Workshops		
CPRS Seminars/Workshops	50.9	49.1
IABC Seminars/Workshops	59.6	40.4

Women and Dominant Practitioner Roles

o The relationship between gender and roles reveals that women are significantly more likely to assume as their dominant role, that of communication technician. However, when age and years of experience are controlled, the relationship between gender and communication technician disappears.

o Significantly more men than women were found to be expert prescribers. When age and years of experience are controlled, however, the relationship between gender and expert prescriber disappears.

o There are no significant differences between gender and the two managerial roles: communication facilitator, and problem-solving process facilitator. Women are just as

likely as men to function in these roles.

The literature on gender and practitioner roles in the U.S. suggests women generally assume the role of communication technician, while men take on various components of the managerial role.

As Table 2 illustrates, the expectation that significantly more women than men assume the role of communication technician appears to be supported, as well as the expectation that significantly more men than women take on the role of expert prescriber as their dominant role.

When age and years of experience are controlled for, however, the relationships between gender and communication technician, and gender and expert prescriber become insignificant. In the roles of communication facilitator and problem-solving process facilitator, women were just as likely as men to assume these roles.

Table 2

DOMINANT ROLES BY GENDER

	Female	Male
Communication Technician	58.2	38.5*
Expert Prescriber	13.5	24.6*
Communication Facilitator	13.5	15.6
Problem-Solving Process Facilitator	14.9	21.3
N	141	122

$x2 = 11.18$ df 3 $p < .05$

*Note: "Goodness-of-fit" testing revealed significant differences between women and men on the communication technician and expert prescriber roles.

Results from this study are contrary to those found by researchers in the United States. In the latter, studies examining gender and practitioner roles have found that women not only take on the role of communication technician significantly more often than men, but also, that men take on various components of the managerial role significantly more often than women, even when controlling for the effects of age and years of experience.

Women and Salaries

- Women earn significantly less than men.
- The best predictors of salary are years of experience in public relations, followed by the role of communication technician. Gender and organization size also account for a significant amount of the variance in salary.

Returning to Table 1, results demonstrate distinct salary differences by gender. The modal salary category for women is $30,000 to $39,999 per year and 37 percent of women said their incomes fell in this range. In contrast, a similar figure for men (37 %) fell in the modal category of $60,000 and more. Fifty-seven percent of female practitioners earn under $40,000 compared to only 20 percent of male practitioners.

The original relationship between salaries and gender was also examined controlling for years of experience, practitioner roles and organization size (Table 3). When years of experience was controlled, the relationship between gender and salaries remained significant across all categories except for those respondents who have worked five years or less in public relations.

When controlling for practitioner roles, the relationship between gender and salary remained significant across all role categories except for that of problem-solving process facilitator. The relationship between salary and gender remained significant even when controlling for the effects of organization size.

Table 3

PREDICTORS OF SALARY

Predictor Variable	Standard Error	Beta	T-Value	Signific.
PR Experience	.066	.357	6.47	0.000
Technician	.292	- .403	-6.14	0.000
Gender	.232	.244	4.72	0.000
Organization size	.065	.156	3.25	0.001
Comm. facilitator	.369	-.165	-2.83	0.005
Expert prescriber	.690		2.38	0.018
Problem solver	.347	-.134	-2.25	0.025
Tenure	.089	.019	0.36	0.721
Education	.059	.014	0.28	0.777

Women and Decision-Making

- There are no significant differences between gender and decision-making approach (scientific versus intuitive) in program evaluation.

An overall mean scientific score and an overall mean intuitive score were calculated for each respondent. Based on the scores, each subject was assigned to one of two categories. If the scientific score was higher, the respondent was classified as scientifically oriented. If the intuitive score was higher,

the respondent was categorized as intuitively oriented. Respondents classified as scientifically oriented would be expected to use scientific techniques predominantly, while those categorized as intuitively oriented would be expected to use intuitive methods predominantly.

As illustrated in Table 4, both men and women use intuitive methods predominantly.

Table 4

SCIENTIFIC AND INTUITIVE ORIENTATIONS BY GENDER

	Female	Male
Scientifically Oriented	18.0	22.4
Intuitively Oriented	82.0	77.6
N	161	147

$p > .05$

Women and Participation in Higher Order Management Decision-Making

- Women participate in decision-making on policy strategies significantly less often than men but when the control variables, practitioner roles, are introduced, the relationship disappears.

- A significantly greater majority of men than women claimed they have a great deal of influence on policy development. The relationship remained statistically significant only when controlling for the effects of problem-solving process facilitator.

The two indicators of higher-order decision-making, participation in policy decisions and major problem discussions, with top management were combined to represent one measure of

participation at this level. Both are indicators of policy strategy participation. Results show women participate at this level significantly less often than men. (See Table 5) When practitioner roles are controlled for, the relationship becomes insignificant.

Influence on Policy Develpment. Higher order decision-making also includes the influence one has in policy formulation. Significantly more men than women reported a great deal of inluence on policy development. When the effects of practitioner roles were controlled, the relationship remained significant only for the role of problem-solving process facilitator. In other words, males in problem-solving process facilitator roles were significantly more likely than their female counterparts to say they had a great deal of influence on policy development. No differences were found between male and female practitioners in the three other roles.

Table 5

PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING BY GENDER, CONTROLLING FOR ROLES

Type of Decision-Making	Females	Males	p
Lower-order	55.9%	65.1%	0.128
Higher-order	44.1	64.4	0.000
Controlling for Roles (Higher-Order Decisions only)			
Expert Prescriber	68.4	79.3	n.s.
Communication Technician	31.7	46.8	n.s.
Communication Facilitator	52.6	78.9	n.s.
Problem-solving Process Facil.	47.6	57.7	n.s.

Perceived Impact of "Feminization". Respondents were asked to indicate if the "increasing numbers of women entering the field" had a positive, neutral or negative impact, using a seven-point scale. Forty seven percent of all respondents said the impact was positive; 12 percent indicated the impact to be negative, and four in ten were "neutral". Practitioner rank, practitioner roles, and years in public relations had no bearing on these attitudes and neither did gender.

DISCUSSION

While increasing numbers of women are entering public relations in Canada, like their U.S. counterparts, they continue to occupy the lower rungs of the ladder, generally filling communication technician roles and making less money. Unlike their U.S. counterparts, however, assuming technician roles seems to be a function of age and experience.

The salary differentials between men and women are still stark. Although the best predictors of income differentials are years of experience and practitioner role (especially at the technician level), gender also remains a significant predictor of salary variance. It is likely the situation has changed for younger practitioners, however. Among those who have worked in public relations for five years or less, gender is no longer related to salary discrepancies.

In contrast to results obtained in the U.S., this study did not find that gender predicts roles. Broom (1982) and Broom and Dozier (1986) found significantly more women than men occupy

technician roles even after controlling for years of experience and age. In this Canadian sample, when these two variables were controlled, the relationship between gender and roles disappeared.

Another finding in this study was that women participate in higher-order decision-making as frequently as men, especially at the managerial role level. The findings here bode well for the profession in terms of fairly high numbers who frequently participate in decision-making at policy levels and the absence of differential participation rates among men and women.

A negative finding for the profession, however, was the greater reliance on intuitive over scientific procedures to make decisions. Again, this was true of both male and female practitioners. (see Piekos and Einsiedel, 1989).

On the whole, the study illustrates the importance of cross-cultural replications of professional patterns. It is obvious from this study that Canadian and American data have some similarities but also some important differences.

We can speculate on how to account for some of these differences although we stress the word "speculate" at this point. One possible explanation is that role distributions in the Canadian sample are relatively more diffuse, given the larger number of tied scores (about one in eight). This indicates a larger number of practitioners assuming multiple role combinations.

Second, Canadians have always had the advantage of "learning" from the U.S. experience (which generally takes place

ahead of the Canadians), allowing Canadians to profit from American errors. This might explain the fact that although salary discrimination also occurs among Canadian public relations professionals, it is not as extreme as what appears to be the case in the U.S. Of course, the comparison data in the U.S. is a few years older than this study and things may have changed in the U.S. as well.

NOTES

1. IABC, of course, has a broader membership base, including practitioners from other areas such as advertising.

2. Dozier's (1981) typology consists of manager, technician, media relations specialist, and communication facilitator. Managers engage in activities that involve expert prescription, communication facilitation and problem-solving process facilitation. Technicians are involved in activities similar to those described by Broom and Smith (1978, 1979) for the communication technician role. Unlike technicians, media relations specialists do not become involved with internal communication and, like technicians, they do not make policy decisions. Communication liaisons act as senior-ranking advisors to decision-makers but they themselves do not make decisions.

3. Other mail surveys examining practitioner roles and evaluation methods have achieved response rates of 34.8 percent (Dozier, 1986, 1987) and 50.7 percent (Dozier, 1981).

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